1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

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MALES	FEMALES
The Rituals of Padi Cultivation	
beburong .. the taking of bird omens	preparation of offerings (*piring*) for all *padi* rituals
general supervision of ritual, especially during *manggol* and sowing	care of the sacred rices—*sanking* and *padi pun*
	care of *padi* charms (*pengaroh padi*)
organization of major *padi* rituals, such as *gawai benih*, *gawai minta ari*, *gawai memali umai*, etc.	participation in all *padi* rituals, with special responsibility for those accompanying the harvest
Subsidiary Tasks Associated with Padi Cultivation	
blacksmithing—making of adzes (*bliong*), bush-knives (*duku*), weeding implements (*ilok*), and harvesting knives (*ketap*)	making of *keban* (sowing baskets)
making of bark-cloth (*tekalong*), and bark carrying-straps	making of *sinjong* (reaping baskets)
making of *lanji* (*padi* carrying baskets)	making of *baka* (large baskets for handling *padi*)
making of *bidai* (large mats for temporary storage and handling of *padi*)	making of mats (*tikai singang*, etc.) used during winnowing, sunning of *padi*, etc.
making of *kajang* (palm frond) covers, for protecting *padi* after reaping	
making of *tibang* (large, bark-bins for permanent storage of *padi*)	

177. This system of division of work between the sexes is supported by various social sanctions, and particularly by the strongly held traditional attitudes of young men. Young men are perfectly willing to join in the manly tasks of felling, dibbling, and the carrying in of huge loads of *padi* for threshing, but nothing will persuade them to participate in the essentially feminine duties of sowing, weeding and reaping. To do so would be to excite the immediate ridicule [156] of their fellows, and, of shame, the Iban are extremely sensitive. But the system is not absolutely binding. When a man becomes responsible for the managing of a farm (i.e. from early middle age onwards), he is sometimes compelled to tackle women's work, if the crop is not to suffer. This is usually a direct outcome of the restricted size of the *bilek* family labour force. As we have noted, about 30% of *bilek* families have only one woman worker; and only about 20% have more than two. Thus sickness, pregnancy, etc. can leave a *bilek* family entirely without female labour at crucial stages of the agricultural cycle. In these circumstances a man is forced to engage in sowing, weeding or reaping—unless he can hire help from other *bilek* families. Younger men, and, in general, husbands under about 40 years of age, resent being placed in this position and participate grudgingly; but older men, who have slaked their wanderlust and settled down to farming as a main occupation, have a different attitude. These men (of about 45 years of age and over) come to identify themselves very closely with their farms, and to strive for abundant crops that will give them a surplus for performing head-hunting and other rituals, or for purchasing valuables of various kinds. Such older men voluntarily join in the work of reaping, and many of them assist in weeding as well.

178. This situation is illustrated in Table 11, which shows the participation of men of four different age groups in the tasks of sowing, weeding and reaping; the sample of 32 males being taken from Rumah Nyala.

183 476 have adapted, together with the techniques of acquisition and production which they have developed, the norms of cooperation and competition have been important in maintenance of group solidarity and survival through emphases upon activities such as sharing and personal initiative. The disparate nature of these two norms and the rewards which members of Iban society perceive in each has resulted in different responses and behavior patterns as individuals have attempted to accomodate to one or the other, or to hold the two in tension.

183 476 621 Although first impressions of visitors to longhouse communities is of a cooperating group, each community is also composed of a number of competitors, vying through various activities to exceed or at least not to [156] be bested by their fellows. Traditional emphases upon physical prowess, bravery and cunning among men, and hard work and domestic skills among women have been major themes among the strongly achievement-oriented Ibans. Cooperation is needed in house-building, rice cultivation, the establishment of schools, and putting on gawai. But competition cuts through all of these activities and others as people make comparisons of the size of houses, yields of the rice-field, examination results, and how many more people came to their gawai. Kami Iban enggai alah ari pangan ("We Iban refuse to be defeated by one another"), said Apai Gaun of Rumah Nyala on one occasion. This refusal is manifest in the intensely competitive spirit and activities of individuals, kin-groups and longhouse communities

183 539 Padua' badak, mit kelikit, besai kelikai.[14] Like the division of the tapir, much to the big little to the small.

861 156 576 The Iban rightly are described as individualists, but within the constraints of society and culture. Thus, the individual learns to maintain a balance between acts and speech that are self-effacing and face-saving, personally satisfying and socially acceptable. Children are taught to walk over the ruai so that they do not make unneccessary noise which is considered disrespectful to others. Passing before others, the Iban bows with fingertips down between his knees to show his humility and [516] not give offense. Women learn to sit on their heels (dudok pipi'), men in other prescribed ways according to the relative ranks of members in the group in which they find themselves.[15] Guests always must be seated along the outer wall of the padong ruai and the good host must offer his guests cigarettes or the betel container.

537 156 When called upon to speak, as at a gawai, the Iban must hedge his words by apologizing for his inability to speak, second for anything wrong that he may say. Having spoken thus, he proceeds to demonstrate that he

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[14] See "The Animals Go Fishing," Appendix B.

[15] Positions when sitting are prescribed according to the ages and ranks of members in the group. To sit with feet outstretched towards elders or towards food at a meal is considered ill-mannered. To sit with one knee bent and the arm resting "cockily" on it is brash.

537 as facile as others in speaking. On the occasion of one gawai, I heard
156 one speaker begin with the following words:
[539]

Aku tu' nadai utai temu.	I don't know anything.
Tang, baka semalau	But as the warbler carries
nampong lachau,	on from the lizard,
Baka tawak nampong begau.	As the gong continues the beat
	(so I repeat what I have heard).

Emphasis upon egalitarianism, the conflicts of interests between
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[183] individuals and the community, the tensions between cooperative and competitive activities, are related to and re-inforced by the important
[626] group of beings known as antu. In the absence of social sanctions which can be enforced, and in the situation in which men do what pleases them, belief in antu serves a teleological function which is,

> "crucial to the psycho-biological functioning of the individual, and to the survival of (Iban) society and its culture."

In contrast to the beneficient Iban gods, the antu are all conceived of as evil and dangerous. Their birth probably is the matrix of hostilities, stresses and anti-social tendencies with which all people
[784] have to deal in one way or another. Among the Ibans, these problems have been reified and personalised in the antu who give supernatural sanctions to the scores of pemali ("ritual prohibitions"), providing restraints against anti-social behavior and constraint for socially-approved behavior.

The belief of the Ibans in antu serves the function of displacing their hostilities upon the antu, whereas if the true origins of the antu